

Message Text

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EURE-00 NEA-10 OIC-04 SAJ-01 ACDA-19 CU-04 CIAE-00

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RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20 OMB-01 TRSE-00 AEC-11

AECE-00 AF-10 STR-08 EB-11 COME-00 FRB-02 SCI-06

EPA-04 CEQ-02 CEA-02 DRC-01 /198 W

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FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2836

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 GENEVA 6412

DELIVER TO BRIG. GEN. H. LOBDELL JR., DIRECTOR EUROPEAN REGION,
ISA AT OPENING OF BUSINESS DECEMBER 5.

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR

SUBJ: DEFENSE BRIEF ON CSCE FOR SECDEF'S DPC BRIEFING BOOK

1. FOLLOWING IS SUGGESTED DEFENSE BRIEF ON CSCE FOR USE IN SECDEF'S BRIEFING BOOK FOR DPC AS APPROPRIATE IN LIGHT OF WASHINGTON PREPARATIONS.
2. BEGIN TEXT: (C) BACKGROUND. THE SECOND STAGE OF CSCE OPENED IN GENEVA ON SEPTEMBER 18 WITH 35 NATIONS IN ATTENDANCE--ALL THE EUROPEAN NATIONS EXCEPT ALBANIA, PLUS US AND CANADA. THE CONFERENCE HAS AGREED ON A CHRISTMAS BREAK FROM DECEMBER 14 TO JANUARY 14. THE PRESENT PACE OF ACTIVITY INDICATES THAT THE SECOND STAGE WILL LIKELY GO ON UNTIL MARCH OR APRIL OF 1974.
3. (C) THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS ALLIES APPEAR RECONCILED TO THIS SCHEDULE. NEVERTHELESS, THEY WILL CONTINUE THEIR EFFORTS
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TO SPUR DRAFTING, WHICH IT IS GENERALLY ASSUMED WILL BEGIN IN JANUARY. THEY STILL ENVISAGE HOLDING THE THIRD STAGE AT THE SUMMIT LEVEL SOMETIME IN 1974.

4. (C) THE LARGE AND SOPHISTICATED SOVIET DELEGATION HAS CONTINUED TO AVOID A REPETITION OF THE JARRING EPISODES WHICH OCCURRED DURING THE MULTILATERAL PREPARATORY TALKS IN HELSINKI. THE WESTERN ALLIES HAVE, IN TURN, REMAINED RELATIVELY COHESIVE, DESPITE DIFFERENCES ON SUBSTANCE IN SEVERAL AREAS, I.E. CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES. THE GAPS IN OVERALL POSITIONS BETWEEN THE EAST AND THE WEST REMAIN FORMIDABLE. THE SOVIETS EXPECT THE PROCESS OF RESOLVING THESE DIFFERENCES IN THE DRAFTING PHASE TO BE VERY DIFFICULT BUT THEY REMAIN MODERATELY OPTIMISTIC ABOUT THE FINAL OUTCOME. THEY, NEVERTHELESS, APPEAR TO HAVE LOWERED THEIR AMBITIONS FOR SUBSTANCE IN CSCE. THEIR PRINCIPLE AIM IS TO SEE AGREEMENT TO A SET OF PRINCIPLES GUIDING INTERSTATE RELATIONS WHICH WILL FURTHER RATIFY THE PRESENT DIVISION OF EUROPE.

5. (C) ACTIVITY WITHIN THE THREE PRINCIPAL SUBJECT AREAS OF CSCE (SECURITY, ECONOMIC COOPERATION AND HUMAN CONTACTS) HAS ADVANCED TO THE POINT WHERE A RELATIVE BALANCE IN PROGRESS EXISTS BETWEEN THE THREE AREAS, ALTHOUGH THE SOVIETS HAVE BEEN MUCH LESS FORCOMING IN HUMAN CONTACTS THAN THE OTHER TWO AREAS.

6. (C) SECURITY--MILITARY ASPECTS. MOST NATO ALLIES AND NEUTRALS FAVOR AN EXPANDED MILITARY CONTENT FOR CSCE GOING BEYOND THE ADVANCE NOTIFICATION OF MANEUVERS AND THE EXCHANGE OF OBSERVERS, THE LIMITS OF THE PREFERRED US POSITION. THE MOST SWEEPING PROPOSALS HAVE BEEN TABLED BY YUGOSLAVIA, ROMANIA, AND SWEDEN. WHILE MANY OF THEIR SUGGESTIONS ARE UNACCEPTABLE TO MOST WESTERN PARTICIPANTS, THERE IS A GROWING TENDENCY TO FIND SOME INNOCUOUS LANGUAGE IN THE FINAL DOCUMENT WHICH WILL TO A LIMITED DEGREE AND IN A NONCOMMITAL FASHION, ABSORB THE PRESSURES. THE MAJORITY REPRESENTS THE MIDDLE GROUND AND FAVORS A) LANGUAGE ACKNOWLEDGING THE COMPLEMENTARY NATURE OF THE POLITICAL AND MILITARY ASPECTS OF SECURITY, B) THE EXPRESSION OF SOME NON-BINDING "CONSIDERATIONS" OR "PRINCIPLES" FOR MBFR WHICH WOULD WELCOME THE INITIATION OF TALKS, EXPRESS THE HOPE FOR SUCCESS AND RECOGNIZE THE NEED OF NONPARTICIPANTS TO BE INFORMED OF PROGRESS AND THE RESULTS, AND C) THE INCLUSION OF THE ADVANCE NOTIFICATION OF MOVEMENTS IN CBM'S IN ADDITION TO MANEUVERS AND OBSERVERS. THE FRENCH, REPRESENTING A MORE LIMITED POSITION, ARE CONFIDENTIAL

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NEVERTHELESS WILLING TO ACCEPT THE INCLUSION OF ADVANCE NOTIFICATION OF MOVEMENTS, BUT WISH TO EXCLUDE ANY OTHER ASPECTS OF MILITARY SECURITY, INCLUDING REFERENCES TO MBFR. THE MORE LIMITED POSITION IS HELD BY THE SOVIET UNION WHICH WISHES TO SUBMIT PROPOSALS ONLY ON ADVANCE NOTIFICATION OF MANEUVERS AND EXCHANGE OF OBSERVERS, BUT HAS EXPRESSED A WILLINGNESS TO DISCUSS AND STUDY MOVEMENTS AND OTHER MILITARY ASPECTS. DESPITE THE SPECIFIC OPPOSITION TO TREATING DISARMAMENT IN CSCE, THE SOVIETS HAVE HINTED AT A WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT EVENTUALLY SOME BANAL LANGUAGE WHICH WOULD FEND OFF THE AMBITIONS OF THE MORE EXTREME NEUTRALS. THE US HAS REMAINED RELATIVELY PASSIVE PRINCIPALLY IN ORDER NOT TO EXPOSE ALLIED DIFFERENCES OVER THE INCLUSION OF MOVEMENTS. DESPITE FIRM SOVIET OPPOSITION TO MOVEMENTS, OUR ALLIES APPEAR DETERMINED TO

PURSUE THE ISSUE UNTIL THEY FEEL SATISFACTORY CONCESSIONS HAVE BEEN OBTAINED IN THE COURSE OF BARGAINING. THEY HOPE THAT THE US WILL NOT TAKE AN OPEN STANCE IN OPPOSITION AND THAT PERHAPS THE US WILL TO SOME DEGREE MODIFY ITS POSITION. MOREOVER, THEY DESIRE GREATER US SUPPORT FOR SUBSTANTIAL MEASURES ON THE ADVANCE NOTIFICATION OF MANEUVERS AND EXCHANGE OF OBSERVERS AND FEEL FRUSTRATED BY ITS ABSENCE.

7. (C) SECURITY ISSUES--PRINCIPLES OF INTER-STATE RELATIONS.

GENERAL DEBATE IS DRAWING TO AN END OF THE TEN PRINCIPLES LISTED IN THE HELSINKI DECISIONS. THE PRINCIPAL SOVIET OBJECTIVE REMAINS THE ACCEPTANCE OF INVIOABILITY OF FRONTIERS AS A SEPARATE PRINCIPLE OF INTER-STATE RELATIONS, NOT LINKED OR SUBORDINATE TO OTHER PRINCIPLES AND THE ENDORSEMENT OF THE PRESENT FRONTIERS IN EUROPE. WESTERN DELEGATIONS HAVE SUPPORTED THE FRG, WHICH VIEWS PRINCIPLES IN THE CONTEXT OF INTER-GERMAN RELATIONS, IN ENSURING THAT THE PRINCIPLE OF INVIOABILITY WILL NOT PRECLUDE PEACEFUL CHANGES OF BORDERS WHEN AGREED BY THE PARTIES CONCERNED. THE WEST'S EFFORTS TO FURTHER BLUNT THE BREZHNEV DOCTRINE ARE NOT, AS YET, MEETING DIRECT OPPOSITION FROM THE SOVIETS WHO SEEM TO BE PREPARED TO RELY ON OTHER LEGAL ARGUMENTS FOR ANY FURTHER INTERVENTION ON THE CZECHOSLOVAK MODEL. THE WEST IS CONTINUING TO RESIST SOVIET EFFORTS TO GIVE THE NON-INTERVENTION AND HUMAN RIGHTS PRINCIPLES A TWIST WHICH WOULD PROVIDE STATES WITH BROAD IMMUNITY FROM CRITICISM AND PRESSURE FOR CHANGE. THE SOVIETS SEEK A FINAL DECLARATION "AS BINDING AS POSSIBLE" WITHOUT BEING A TREATY.

8. (C) COOPERATION IN THE FIELDS OF ECONOMICS, OF SCIENCE AND
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TECHNOLOGY, AND OF THE ENVIRONMENT. THIS ACTIVITY PRESENTS ALL PARTICIPANTS WITH FEWER POLITICAL PROBLEMS THAN THE SUBJECTS OF SECURITY AND HUMANITARIAN COOPERATION. THE FIVE SUBCOMMITTEES ARE DEALING WITH SUBJECTS THAT DO NOT AFFECT THE VITAL INTERESTS OF ANY OF THE PARTICIPANTS, ALTHOUGH THE SOVIETS HAVE SHOWN SOME SENSITIVITY OVER PROPOSALS THAT CALL FOR FREER TOURIST MOVEMENT OF PEOPLE, A SUBJECT THEY PREFER TO RESTRICT TO BASKET III. MANY OF THE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 GENEVA 6412

III. MANY OF THE WESTERN OBJECTIVES IN THE ECONOMIC AREA HAVE ALREADY BEEN REALIZED BILATERALLY BY THE US, AT LEAST INsofar AS THE USSR AND POLAND ARE CONCERNED. NEVERTHELESS, THE US STANDS TO GAIN IF, AS A RESULT OF THE CONFERENCE, THE COMMUNIST NATIONS CAN BE BROUGHT TO ACCEPT CLOSER EAST-WEST CONTACTS AT INDUSTRY AND SCIENCE INSTITUTION LEVELS, THE PROVISION OF MORE ECONOMIC, COMMERCIAL AND TECHNOLOGICAL DATA, AND THE LIBERALIZATION OF CONTROLS ON THE OPERATIONS OF WESTERN FIRMS IN EASTERN EUROPE AND THE USSR.

OUR MAJOR VULNERABILITY IS ON THE SPECIFIC SUBJECT OF MOST FAVORED NATION TREATMENT FOR THE SOVIET UNION AND THOSE EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES WHICH DO NOT YET ENJOY MFN ACCESS TO THE US MARKET. THE EAST IS CONSCIOUS OF THE ADMINISTRATION'S EFFORTS IN THIS RESPECT, AND HAS SO FAR TREATED THE SUBJECT CIRCUMSPECTLY. WE DO NOT EXPECT THAT MFN WILL BECOME AN OVERLY CONTENTIOUS ISSUE.

STATEMENTS OF POSITION HAVE BEEN GENERALLY RESTRAINED AND UNEMOTIONAL, ALTHOUGH A TRUE GIVE-AND-TAKE AWAITS THE DRAFTING STAGE. THE CLOSEST APPROACH TO FIREWORKS CAME WHEN THE EAST CHALLENGED THE PRESENCE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE EUROPEAN COM-
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MUNITY, SITTING AS MEMBERS OF THE DANISH DELEGATION. THE DANES VIGOROUSLY DEFENDED THEIR RIGHT TO NAME THEIR OWN DELEGATE AND THE EAST HAS NOT, AS YET, RENEWED THE ATTACK. MOST RECENTLY, THE EAST HAS INDICATED CONCERN THAT THE SPIRIT OF DETENTE HAS NOT BEEN NOTICEABLE IN THE ECONOMIC SUBCOMMITTEES. EAST HAS ALSO NOW INDICATED THAT IT WILL WANT LINKAGE OF ECONOMIC COOPERATION AND SECURITY IN EUROPE.

9. (C) COOPERATION IN HUMANITARIAN AND OTHER FIELDS. THE SOVIETS WANT A SOLID PREAMBLE STATING THAT ANY AGREEMENT IN THE FOUR SUBCOMMITTEES (HUMAN CONTACTS, INFORMATION, EDUCATION AND CULTURE) ARE SUBJECT TO DEFINITE PRINCIPLES. TO THE BASIC PRINCIPLES, NON-INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS AND RESPECT FOR NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY ARE ADDED AND SUBJECT TO NATIONAL LAWS, CUSTOMS AND USAGE. THE WEST, HOPING TO GET LANGUAGE TO IMPROVE THE FLOW OF INFORMATION, TO PERMIT FAMILIES TO BE REUNITED, TO IMPROVE THE LOT OF FOREIGN JOURNALISTS, ACADEMICS AND TRAVELERS,

WANTS TO APPLY ANY CAVEATS ONLY TO THE SPECIFIC CASES WHERE THEY ARE REQUIRED. BREZHNEV'S TOUGH SPEECH AT THE WORLD PEACE CONFERENCE IS THE SOVIET GUIDELINE.

ALL SUBCOMMITTEES HAVE ADOPTED A DISCUSSION METHOD USING A CUT-AND-PASTE CATALOG PERMITTING EASY COMPARISON OF PERTINENT PARTS OF ALL PROPOSALS. THE DISCUSSION HAS TAKEN ON NEW VIGOR BUT ONLY IN THE DRAFTING PHASE DO WE EXPECT TO FIND THE PARAMETERS OF THE SOVIET POSITIONS. WE WILL THEN KNOW WHETHER ACCEPTABLE LANGUAGE ON THE FAMILY PACKAGE (REUNIFICATION, MARRIAGE BETWEEN NATIONS OF DIFFERENT STATES, VISITS ACROSS BORDER), WORKING CONDITIONS FOR JOURNALISTS, CLOSED AREAS, READING ROOMS, GENERAL TRAVEL AND OTHER WESTERN DESIDERATA CAN BE WORKED OUT. BASSIN

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